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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 162744 TOSEC 060064

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CU, SW, PFOR

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMORANDUM: ANALYSIS OF GOC ACTION IN
BARRING SCHEDULED VISIT BY UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION
WORKING GROUP

TO THE SECRETARY FROM ARA - WILLIAM D. ROGERS

1. IN JUSTIFYING ITS ACTIONS TO BAR THE WORKING GROUP FROM
VISITING CHILE, THE GOC HAS ALLEGED THAT AN ANTI-CHILE
CAMPAIGN IS BEING INTENSIFIED IN UN FORUMS AND THAT THERE
IS NO "SERIOUS DISPOSITION" TO VERIFY THE REAL SITUATION IN
CHILE. THE GOC ALSO ALLEGES THAT THE WORKING GROUP EXCEEDED
ITS MANDATE TO INVESTIGATE THE "PRESENT SITUATION" OF HUMAN
RIGHTS IN CHILE BY TAKING TESTIMONY IN EUROPE AND THE U.S.
FROM CHILEAN EXILES AND "FUGITIVES FROM JUSTICE" WHO HAVE
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BEEN OUT OF THE COUNTRY FOR MORE THAN A YEAR. IT IS ALSO

ASSERTED THAT CUBA'S AMBASSADOR TO THE UN ORGANIZED CHILEAN EXILES IN NEW YORK TO PRESENT THEIR STATEMENTS TO THE WORKING GROUP.

2. THE GOC HAS ALSO CHARGED THAT A SUBVERSIVE PLAN WAS AFOOT IN CHILE ENCOURAGED BY SOVIET RADIO BROADCASTS TO CREATE A CLIMATE OF DOMESTIC DISTURBANCES, TO FILL FOREIGN EMBASSIES IN SANTIAGO WITH "SPURIOUS" ASYLEES, AND TO INITIATE A

GUERRILLA CAMPAIGN. THE GOC CHARGES THAT THIS PLAN WAS DESIGNED TO GIVE THE WORKING GROUP A DISTORTED PICTURE OF THE REAL SITUATION IN CHILE. IN VARIOUS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE STATEMENTS, CHILEAN OFFICIALS HAVE ALSO ALLEGED THAT THE OBJECTIVITY OF SOME MEMBERS OF THE WORKING GROUP, PARTICULARLY LEOPOLDO BENITEZ, FORMER UN AMBASSADOR FROM ECUADOR, IS SUSPECT AND, FURTHER, THAT THE WORKING GROUP TOOK TESTIMONY FROM ANTI-GOVERNMENT EXILES IN LIMA AND HAD INDICATED THAT IT PLANNED TO FINALIZE ITS REPORT IN CARACAS WHERE A LARGE COLONY OF CHILEAN EXILES IS RESIDENT.

3. IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT LEFTIST EXTREMISTS IN AND OUTSIDE OF CHILE WOULD SEEK TO CREATE DISTURBANCES DESIGNED TO INFLUENCE THE WORKING GROUP'S REPORT, PARTICULARLY BY SUCH TACTICS AS FILLING FOREIGN EMBASSIES IN SANTIAGO WITH "ASYLEES". HOWEVER, THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES ARE IN COMPLETE CONTROL OF THE INTERNAL SITUATION AND IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT ANY SIGNIFICANT "GUERRILLA" EFFORT COULD BE MOUNTED TO COINCIDE WITH THE WORKING GROUP'S ARRIVAL. WE BELIEVE IN GENERAL THAT THE WORKING GROUP IS COMPOSED OF OBJECTIVE AND CAPABLE INDIVIDUALS. THE ECUADOREAN MEMBER, BENITEZ, THOUGH KNOWN TO BE LEFT OF CENTER IN HIS POLITICAL VIEWS, IS NOT REGARDED AS AN EXTREMIST. THE ALLEGATIONS CONCERNING THE TAKING OF TESTIMONY APPEAR TO BE SOMEWHAT MORE VALID IN THAT EXILES WHO HAVE BEEN ABROAD OBVIOUSLY CANNOT BE RELIED ON TO GIVE UNBIASED OR CURRENT INFORMATION ON THE SITUATION IN CHILE ITSELF.

4. ON THE FACE OF IT, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE REASONS CITED BY THE GOC REPRESENT MORE OF A RATIONALIZATION FOR THEIR ACTION THAN MOTIVATING REASONS. THE REPORTING FROM CONFIDENTIAL

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SANTIAGO INDICATES THAT THE INITIAL DECISION WAS TO "POSTPONE" THE WORKING GROUP VISIT, WHICH WAS SHORTLY CHANGED, APPARENTLY IN A UNILATERAL PINOCHET DECISION, TO A "CANCELLATION", AND MOST RECENTLY CHANGED BACK TO A "POSTPONEMENT". WE KNOW THAT SHORTLY BEFORE HIS DECISION PINOCHET RECEIVED A REPORT FROM GENERAL MOREL, HIS MILITARY ATTACHE IN WASHINGTON, WHICH ERRONEOUSLY REPORTED THAT THE USG HAD DEFINITELY DECIDED NOT TO MAKE ANY FURTHER

ARMS AVAILABLE TO CHILE BECAUSE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION. AMBASSADOR POPPER WAS IMMEDIATELY INSTRUCTED TO INFORM THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES THAT NO SUCH DECISION HAD BEEN TAKEN, THAT THE ENTIRE ARMS SALES FOR CHILE ISSUE IS CURRENTLY UNDER CONSIDERATION IN THE USG, AND THAT A DEFINITIVE RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT PINOCHET'S REQUEST FOR A CLARIFICATION WILL BE FORTHCOMING SHORTLY.

5. WE BELIEVE THAT CHILEAN EXASPERATION WITH THE WORLDWIDE CRITICISM OVER THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE, THE FRUSTRATION OVER THEIR INABILITY TO ACQUIRE BADLY NEEDED ARMS FROM THEIR TRADITIONAL SUPPLIER, THE U.S., AND THEIR OBSESSION WITH THE INCREASING IMBALANCE WITH RESPECT TO PERUVIAN MILITARY PREPAREDNESS, HAVE COMBINED TO PRODUCE THE PRESENT SITUATION. THE SIGNAL RECEIVED BY PINOCHET FROM GENERAL MOREL AND WORD THAT THE WORKING GROUP WAS TAKING TESTIMONY FROM CHILEAN EXILES BEFORE EVEN ARRIVING IN COUNTRY APPEAR TO BE THE FINAL STRAWS WHICH CAUSED PINOCHET TO RETREAT INTO A SIEGE POSTURE.

6. HAVING ACTED APPARENTLY WITHOUT CONSULTING OTHER JUNTA MEMBERS, AND AGAINST THE ADVICE OF HIS FOREIGN MINISTER, SOMEWHAT COOLER HEADS APPEAR TO HAVE PREVAILED ON PINOCHET TO RETREAT TO THE PRESENT CHILEAN POSITION OF AWAITING A "MORE PROPITIOUS TIME" WHEN THE "RESTORATION OF THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS OF OBJECTIVITY" MIGHT PERMIT THE VISIT OF THE WORKING GROUP TO CHILE. WE UNDERSTAND THE GOC HAS OFFERED TO RECEIVE THE HEAD OF THE WORKING GROUP, A DISTINGUISHED PAKISTANI NATIONAL, GULAM ALI ALLANA. HE HAS REFUSED TO GO.

7. FINALLY, WE MUST NOTE THE PERSONAL NATURE OF PRESIDENT PINOCHET'S DECISION. WE FIND IT DIFFICULT TO BELIEVE THAT
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HE CONSULTED WITH THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE JUNTA, OR IF HE HAD, THAT THEY WOULD HAVE GONE ALONG WITH HIM. REPORTS FROM SANTIAGO, WHICH INDICATE THAT HE IS MOVING AWAY FROM THE REST OF THE JUNTA, TEND TO CONFIRM THAT THIS DECISION IS PINOCHET'S ALONE. HIS OBSESSION WITH INTERNATIONAL CRITICISM OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE SEEMINGLY GOT THE BEST OF HIM. REGARDLESS OF THE MOTIVE, THE DECISION IS A VERY SERIOUS BLOW TO CHILE'S INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION. IT WILL MAKE ANY ATTEMPTS TO ASSIST THAT COUNTRY IN INTERNATIONAL FORA AND CONGRESS DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE. INGERSOLL

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